VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can.

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town.

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance.

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2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Branca while sojourning in France "freed the womb" of the slave women on their *engenhos*, São Pedro and São João, in Santo Amaro, and continued gradually to manumit all their slaves. In the same year the friars of the Order of São Bento "freed the womb" of their slave women and announced that all their slaves would be free within three years, or by September, 1871.[74]

The first Bahian abolitionist to raise his voice to "a shout loud enough to be heard throughout the entire country" was Conselheiro Jeronymo Sodré Pereira, a state deputy and professor in the local Faculty of Medicine. In an address to the Bahian *câmara* on March 5, 1879, he declared: "We who represent the democratic ideal, we who earnestly desire the liberation of the citizen through the vote and through instruction, ought to proclaim to our fellow-countrymen throughout the land that all Brazilians are citizens, all are free." This speech was favorably reported by several Bahian newspapers, including the *Gazeta de Notícias* and the *Gazeta da Tarde*, which at this time were becoming organs of the abolition movement. Although the ideas they were advancing had been at first considered "antipatriotic, subversive of the social order, and incendiary," they gradually spread.[75]

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The clergy as a group did not support abolition, and many padres who possessed slaves were accused by the abolitionists of "the same cruelty toward the victims, the same outspoken hostility, the same fury toward abolition, the same hypocritical and ridiculous insistence upon the rights of property, the same lack of respect for justice and the true interests of Brazil." Occasionally a priest, like João Manoel,

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–28. [75] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–21.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

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Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

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By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[a]

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The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[a] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garces, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Four years later the latter changed its name to Sociedade Abolicionista Bahiana. In that time it had purchased the freedom of about fifty slaves, "including those whose liberty was demanded by reason of illegal servitude." The treasurer of the Society was a Negro shoemaker, Manoel Roque, "a man of the people," who carried on abolition propaganda among the free Negroes and "made several converts to the cause."

Abolitionists in other parts of the province of Bahia were similarly active. In 1884 an emancipation society was organized at Cachoeira, where two "out-spoken abolition newspapers," the *Jornal da Tarde* and *Planeta Venus*, were keeping the slave issue before the public. Another emancipation society, under the leadership of Pedro Alves de São Boaventura, operated at Camisão. Abolition sentiment and activity were also reported from Ilheos, Cannavieiras, Santo Antonio da Barra, and Feira de Sant'Anna, said to be "a strong pro-slave center."

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In 1862 a Bahian student published an antislavery article in a local publication, *O Estudante*. In 1869, after the Liberal party had adopted emancipation as a party policy, the *Diario da Bahia* began to support the antislavery cause. On March 20, 1872, five of the six newspapers then printed in the Bahian capital agreed "not to give publicity from this day forth to advertisements of any kind relative to the flight, purchase, sale, or placement of any slave."[1]

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[1] Signed by Francisco José da Rocha for the *Jornal da Bahia*, Innocencio Marques de Araujo Goes Junior for the *Correio da Bahia*, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas for the *Diario da Bahia*, Carvalho Gama for the *Diario de Noticias*, and José Marques de Souza and Aristides Ricardo de Sant'Anna for the *Alabama*. This agreement was renewed nine years later (in 1881), and the resolution was then taken "to urge the adhesion to it of all the press of the Empire." Only the *Gazeta da Bahia* refused to sign (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–79).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

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In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso do Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonzaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um paiz christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

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In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

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[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Souza, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and the doctrines of Christianity. The normal development of the emancipation process was never checked or seriously hampered by a wave of fear like that which swept over slave areas in the United States following the Haitian revolution and the consequent annihilation of Haitian whites and the slaughter of thousands of mulattoes and blacks.

Resistance to abolition was apparently never strong or well organized. It was not confined to any one section of the country but even in slaveholding centers like Bahia was, as we have seen, constantly being undermined by local criticism. An occasional newspaper "persisted in being a slave organ" or appeared "timid and acquiescent with reference to slavery,"[93] but the overwhelming majority of the press increasingly supported the antislavery cause.

It is, however, true that commercial leaders like Ramalho Ortigão, president of the Bahian *Centro* of Commerce and Agriculture, "tenaciously opposed" the abolition movement. Anselmo da Fonseca says that Portuguese immigrants, many of whom engaged in trade and commerce, were, with rare exceptions, "decided partisans of slavery" and not only became "the greatest and most audacious slave traders of Bahia" who offered most of the opposition to the cessation of the slave traffic but also energetically opposed the abolition of slavery itself.[94] However, the prestige of this group,

[93] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[94] "The Portuguese cannot comprehend a Brazil without slaves. We hear daily from them, 'The Negro is peculiarly created by nature for the cultivation of sugar' " (*ibid.*, pp. 155–56). The Portuguese are said to have been the principal violators of the law of 1831, several of the more powerful of whom Euzebio de Queiroz felt impelled to deport when, some twenty years after the passage of this law legally abolishing the slave trade, he sought effectively to suppress the traffic. However, immigrant laborers, since they were in competition with slave laborers, ordinarily opposed slavery. See Henry K. Norton, *The Coming of South America* (New York, 1932), pp. 103–4.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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very light. Her mother is a *sarará*, her grandmother is a dark mulatto with kinky hair, and her husband is also a dark mixed-blood. Her family, it is said, has gradually risen from the lower class by reason of constantly taking advantage of every educational opportunity, by increasing their economic competence, and by deliberately cultivating "good manners."

At a "night club," where there were gambling, liquid refreshments, and partners for dancing, of 128 guests,[27] 62 were whites, 40 were *brancos da Bahia*, 21 were mulattoes (several quite dark), 1 was a *cafuso*, and 4 were blacks. Of the 26 female entertainers (dancers and singers), 19 were whites,[28] 4 were *brancas da Bahia*, and 3 were mulattoes (all very light). None of the darker patrons danced during the evening.

In the main gambling-room the group about the table were principally whites, with a few light mulattoes and an occasional dark mixed-blood. In the hallway near the entrance, however, was another gaming-table where stakes were lower. It was patronized principally by dark mulattoes, together with an occasional black, a few *brancos da Bahia*, and very few whites.

Carnival at Bahia lasts three days and is perhaps the most popular festival of the year. At the close of one celebration plans are immediately set on foot for the next. From time to time throughout the ensuing twelve months, newspapers carry reports of the development of these plans, and, beginning about a hundred and fifty days before Carnival, a regular daily feature appears, the time before the big event being checked off, day by day, much as United States newspapers sometimes check off the days preceding Christmas; except

[27] On September 26, 1936. [28] Including a very swarthy Syrian girl.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired.

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[19] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[20] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the

[19] See chap. ix.

[20] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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no great amount of race consciousness. The study of intermarriage made in São Paulo by Dr. Lowrie[17] would appear merely to confirm the fact that in Brazil still today the Negro in most cases lacks class. At least it is true that several individuals with some colored blood occupy important positions in the Paulista community or have married into white families.

The race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends rather to be a consequence of the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption. Recent opposition to Japanese immigration into São Paulo apparently has been largely motivated by apprehension that the Japanese would constitute a group difficult to assimilate.[18] In an attempt to refute this imputation, the Japanese embassy in Rio published a pamphlet entitled *Intermixture among the Japanese: The Myth That They Do Not Interbreed with Other Races*,[19] to which were appended several photographs of mixed Japanese-Brazilian families.

Of the Negroes, Brazilians ordinarily say there is no Negro problem, because the Negroes are in process of absorption and eventually will be completely incorporated. To individuals from all classes of the population this eventual amalgamation and assimilation of diverse ethnic units is a matter of pride and self-commendation.

In summary, one might set down in the form of hypothe-

[17] Samuel H. Lowrie, "Racial and National Intermarriage in a Brazilian City," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, No. 5 (March, 1939), 684-707.

[18] See, e.g., "O cruzamento de japonezes com brasileiros," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), September 17, 1935; "A infiltração japoneza," *ibid.*, October 16 and 22, 1935; "Oliveira Vianna e a immigração japoneza," *ibid.*, September 13, 1935; "Contra a imigração amarela," *ibid.*, August 11, 1935.

[19] *Cruzamento da ethnia japoneza: hypothese de que o japones não se cruza com outra ethnia* (São Paulo, 1934).

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 192 826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533 541] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which [204] mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or *563 563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

5: Azevedo--31 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The newspapers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

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Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

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1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

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*563 666 676 [162] At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

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* 563 706 874 • [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

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1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

* 563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, metis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

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*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. [873] It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

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* 563 575 at that time to receive colored people. The informant adds, however, that he does not know of any other incident of this kind, and that he attributes it to the passing influence of some member of the management of the club in question. According to another informant, a mulatto of modest circumstances was recently unable to renew his registration at a club of which he was already a member: he attributed this refusal to his color, for he fulfilled the necessary conditions for his readmission. Thus there are clubs of intermediate category that are mentioned by the informants as being sometimes accessible to Blacks, sometimes inclined to exclude them.

Even in the most modest organizations, cases of discrimination may occur. About ten years ago an association of minor employees in commerce refused entrance to colored people during a festival it held at its headquarters. A few days later a similar association, announcing by way of the newspapers an excursion that it proposed to organize in order to celebrate a national date, added that there would be no "color distinction" and explained that the excursion would be "democratic." More recently one of the weekly newspapers of the city published the following note on the subject of a club of intermediate class: [204]

"The news that reaches us is grave; club X is taking a dangerous road: racism. In the course of the festival of the day before yesterday, at the moment when the ball was at its height, an 'Aryan' director expelled from the festival all persons of very dark color, which was very mortifying, particularly for the young people who were obliged to withdraw humiliated from the festival. If club X is against Blacks, its directors should notify their members in advance for all practical purposes. Never, in short, should they make them leave the premises, which is inelegant and could provoke reprisals."

Toward situations of this kind the attitude of the persons affected varies also. In certain cases they protest by way of the newspapers, but one most frequently encounters an attitude of remoteness, of disaffection, toward the meetings and entertainments of similar [204]

[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 [204] organizations, even among the little pigmented métis of relatively high rank, who, by their features and their social qualifications, could be accepted, but who, /90/ probably out of timidity, prefer to adopt a negative reaction of defense. Almost all claim to be of an eccentric nature, to have always lived very much apart, to have never learned to dance. Some go so far as to pretend that, even if they were accepted, they would very rarely go to a club celebration. One Black explains that "often Negroes do not encounter barriers because, knowing the racial prejudice, they do not go to certain places, particularly to the social clubs, for it is in connection with dancing that this prejudice manifests itself most." There are those who, agreeing with this opinion, console themselves by saying that "a Negro never goes to clubs, but he is admitted to scientific congresses and in intellectual milieus. Still others react like a black student for whom these refusals "ought to stimulate the reaction of colored persons so that those who have education finally endeavor to rise to the point of being amused. But it is the opposite that happens, they withdraw." In truth, there are few who are disposed to cope with the oppositions and those who are determined to do so may be accused, even by those of their type, of being "indiscreet" and of exposing themselves to useless conflicts by going where they have not been invited. Moreover, these attitudes are very typical of persons belonging to groups subject to discrimination and who think it is useless to react against the differential treatment that is applied to them. "I know a club to which some dark colored people were able to be admitted, but by provoking reactions," relates a rather pigmented man of liberal profession. "I do not want to subject myself to such an eventuality. I should be happy to be admitted, however, if I had a sufficiently powerful friend to introduce me and to overcome the resistance of the management committees. This, however, does not interest me, but it would be a favorable precedent for others; I also know that if this happened I would encounter the hostility of the white girls who would be very embarrassed to dance with a Black. On the part of the men there would be no opposition. A colored girl in similar circumstances

5: Azevedo--122 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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/93/ Color Prejudice in Bahia

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Color prejudice may be analyzed either through the interpretation that the members of different ethnic groups give of it or by examining their behavior in its symbolic significance. Since the verbal expression of a specific social relationship does not always correspond to the reality of the fact itself, the investigator, in order to approximate objectivity, must attack the problem by the two methods indicated. It is not sufficient to listen to what the one or the other group says, but rather it is necessary to weigh the point of view of each one and compare it to the behavior observed.

In general, in the case of interracial relations, the opposing groups have different concepts about their respective situation. This is the case in Bahia, as the different ideologies that prompt and govern the relations prove.

For the Whites, whether they are truly white or socially white, there is no color or race prejudice in Bahia. One could make an anthology of opinions which vary slightly in terms, but which all express the same fundamental opinion, namely, that Whites and colored people represent "from this point of view an exemplary situation of harmony," as a local paper wrote a few months ago. It will suffice to cite the opinion of a very renowned writer, expressed in articles written at different times and somewhat far apart, that is to say, in the years 1932, 1949 and 1950, respectively, and published by an important newspaper of the city: "That is to say, it seems to us that the problem does not exist. It did not exist in São Paulo, certainly; it does not exist in Bahia. It is new, it is imaginary, it is not real."

[204]

"An isolated Negro problem does not exist in Brazil... There are even provinces in which one is not able to perceive, in the intimacy of person-to-person relationships, the presence of an obstacle that alienates them."